

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 188688 TOSEC 080266
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:JDAVIDOW;DH
APPROVED BY AF-TSEELYE
S/P-TLAKE
IO:GHELMAN
IO-GFRANK
AF/EPS:CCUNDLIFF
UN/A:JTEFT
P-GMOOSE
S/S-O RPERITO

-----075760 101836Z /53

O 101800Z AUG 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 188688 TOSEC 080266

NODIS
GEORGETOWN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG, WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652:X-GDS-1

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: YOUR MEETING WITH FOREIGN
SECRETARY OWEN

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF BRIEFING MEMORANDUM ON SUBJECT
MEETING:

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BEGIN TEXT:

TO: THE SECRETARY

FROM: AF: TALCOTT W. SEELYE, ACTING

SUBJECT: YOUR MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN,

LONDON, AUGUST 12

THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES OF YOUR MEETING WITH OWEN WILL BE TO: 1) DEFINE THE NATURE OF YOUR JOINT APPROACH TO FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA; 2) ENCOURAGE THE UK TO CONTEMPLATE MORE EXTENSIVE SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA THAN IT IS CURRENTLY PREPARED TO ADOPT; AND 3) NARROW THE DIFFERENCES IN THINKING BETWEEN US AND THE BRITISH ON CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE.

ISSUE: APPROACH TO BOTHA

BACKGROUND: OWEN'S INVITATION TO BOTHA WAS CAST AS AN OFFER TO CONSULT IN A COOPERATIVE MANNER ABOUT RHODESIA. THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE ON GUARD (VORSTER'S EXPERIENCE IN VIENNA WAS HARDLY ENCOURAGING FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW). BOTHA MAY COME WITH AN ARRAY OF CHIPS ON HIS SHOULDER, SOME OF WHICH WERE ADUMBRATED IN VORSTER'S TENDENTIOUS AUGUST 5 SPEECH.

U.S. POSITION: WE WANT BOTHA TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE HAVE REACHED THE POINT WHERE WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER APPLYING SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IF THE SAG IS UNWILLING TO INFLUENCE SMITH TO ACCEPT THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, IT IS ADVISABLE TO HIGHLIGHT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE, ESPECIALLY ITS BENEFITS TO SOUTH AFRICA, IN ORDER TO SOLICIT THEIR COOPERATION. WE WOULD HOLD IN ABEYANCE MENTION OF SPECIFIC MEASURES WE MIGHT TAKE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER WE WOULD TELL BOTHA THAT IF THIS EFFORT FAILS WE WILL BE CONFRONTED BY STRONG PRESSURE TO EXPAND AND TIGHTEN SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA, ACTIONS WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY IMPINGE ON SOUTH AFRICA. WE DO NOT FORESEE BEING IN A POSITION TO RESIST ALL OF THOSE PRESSURES.

U.K. POSITION: OWEN WILL PROBABLY ACCEPT OUR SUGGESTED APPROACH, ESPECIALLY AS IT IN NO WAY COMMITS THE UK TO SPECIFIC ACTIONS DOWN THE ROAD AIMED AT SOUTH AFRICA.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- US WILLINGNESS TO APPLY PRESSURE TO SOUTH AFRICA IS FIRM. THE PRESIDENT CONFIRMED THIS IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH NYERERE.

-- THE US AND UK SHOULD APPROACH BOTHA IN A SPIRIT OF

COOPERATION. WE SHOULD NOT ISSUE THREATS TO HIM. RATHER WE SHOULD HIGHLIGHT THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF OUR PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, IT SHOULD BE CLEAR TO HIM THAT WE WILL BE FORCED TO RESORT TO STRONGER PRESSURES ON RHODESIA, SOME OF WHICH WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT SOUTH AFRICA, IF WE DO NOT RECEIVE SAG ASSISTANCE.

SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

BACKGROUND: A SEPARATE MESSAGE TO YOU COVERS THIS

ISSUE AND CONTAINS A PROPOSED MEMORANDUM FROM YOU TO THE PRESIDENT.

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SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS

BACKGROUND: OUR RECENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED WITH FINDING APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE TO DESCRIBE POTENTIALLY CONTROVERSIAL ELEMENTS IN THE PUBLIC CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE ISSUES HAVE RELATED TO THE "LINKAGE" QUESTION WHICH IS CENTRAL TO THE OPERATION OF THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AND THE ROLE OF A UN FORCE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND: THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND THE BRITISH IN GENERAL PHILOSOPHY ON THIS ISSUE ARE NOT GREAT. WE AGREE THAT THE FUND IS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT AND THAT, IF THE PACKAGE IS NOT ACCEPTED OR FALLS APART AFTER THE TRANSITION PERIOD, OUR OBLIGATION TO CONTINUE ASSISTING THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE FUND DISSOLVES. WE HAVE AGREED ON LANGUAGE IN THE PUBLIC DOCUMENT WHICH PREDICATES THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ENTIRE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE.

U.K. POSITION: THE BRITISH WANT TO EMPHASIZE THE LINKAGE IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS, IN THE FUND'S ARTICLES OF FORMATION, IN PARLIAMENT AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, IN PRESENTATIONS TO THE RHODESIAN WHITES. THEY ARGUE THAT THE LATTER IS NECESSARY TO INDUCE WHITE CONFIDENCE IN THE SETTLEMENT PLANS, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE PROPOSALS DO NOT CONTAIN MANY OTHER SPECIFIC GUARANTEES AND PROVISIONS SOUGHT BY THE WHITES. THEY ARE PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO LINK THE FUND TO PENSION GUARANTEES AND PROPERTY RIGHTS.

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U.S. POSITION: WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO OVERSTRESS THE LINKAGE ELEMENT, LEST WE PROVOKE A NEGATIVE REACTION FROM THE NATIONALISTS, OTHER AFRICANS AND POTENTIAL DONORS. WE MUST ALSO KEEP IN MIND CONGRESSIONAL OPINION WHICH IS LIKELY TO OPPOSE A FUND PERCEIVED AS BAILING OUT THE WHITES.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- WE ARE IN AGREEMENT ON THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE FUND AND THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE.

-- WE UNDERSTAND YOUR DESIRE TO EMPHASIZE THIS ELEMENT IN SOME PRESENTATIONS, BUT URGE CAUTION LEST WE PROVOKE NEGATIVE RESPONSES.

-- WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE TO PLACE EXPLICIT LINKAGE LANGUAGE IN THE ARTICLES OF THE FUND. SOME CO-DONORS AND THE WORLD BANK MIGHT FIND THIS POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO ACCEPT.

-- THE EXPECTED US-UK PREDOMINANCE ON THE FUNDS GOVERNING BOARD WILL ALLOW US TO ENSURE THAT OUR LINKAGE CRITERIA WILL DETERMINE THE BOARD'S FUTURE ACTIONS.

UN FORCE: THE BRITISH MAY BE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE ADVISABILITY OF A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE FOR RHODESIA. WE HAVE PRESERVED MENTION OF THE FORCE IN THE PUBLIC STATEMENT OF THE PROPOSALS. THE BRITISH CLAIM THAT OWEN DOES NOT WANT TO BE OVERLY SPECIFIC ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE UN THIS EARLY IN THE GAME IN ORDER TO AVOID NEEDLESS AND PREMATURE INTERNATIONAL DEBATE ON THE FORCE'S ROLE AND COMPOSITION. OWEN'S RELUCTANCE IS ALSO PROBABLY MOTIVATED BY THE UNSTATED RECOGNITION THAT A UN FORCE WOULD BE UNPALATABLE TO SMITH AND PERHAPS TO THE UK CABINET.

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IN THE JULY 28-29 DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON, THE BRITISH STRESSED THE VIEW THAT A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE MAY NOT BE RESPONSIVE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THEY WANTED TO MAKE CERTAIN THEY COULD RELY ON THE RHODESIAN ARMY AND PERHAPS SOME "LOYAL" NATIONALIST TROOPS UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE BRITISH

COMMISSIONER TO MAINTAIN ORDER.

U.S. POSITION: WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A COMMONWEALTH PEACEKEEPING FORCE BUT OWEN'S INABILITY TO OBTAIN UK CABINET APPROVAL FOR THIS LED TO OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE UN ROLE. WE NOW VIEW THE UN FORCE AS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE AND THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS, AND BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD NOT MINIMIZE OR ATTEMPT TO OBFUSCATE THIS ESSENTIAL PART OF THE PROPOSALS.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

-- THE PRESENCE OF SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT PACKAGE. NO PARTY

IS LIKELY TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS UNLESS THERE IS A CREDIBLE NEUTRAL FORCE TO KEEP THE PEACE.

-- WE ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT OF A UN FORCE, AND ARE NOW CONCERNED THAT YOU SEEM TO BE HAVING SOME DOUBTS OVER THE WISDOM OF THIS.

-- WE AGREE THAT IT IS NOT WISE TO ENTER INTO LENGTHY CONVERSATION NOW ABOUT THE SIZE, SCOPE, ETC. OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FORCE, BUT WE SHOULD NOT OBSCURE OR MINIMIZE THE NEED FOR SUCH A FORCE LARGE ENOUGH AND WITH A STRONG ENOUGH MANDATE TO ASSURE OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE. WE CAN DISCUSS THE DETAILS ONCE THE BROAD PROPOSITION IS ACCEPTED.

NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA:

-- WE SHOULD ALSO REVIEW WITH BOTHA THE RESULTS OF THE NEW YORK MEETINGS WITH SWAPO AND SUGGEST TO HIM FURTHER POINTS WHERE SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT TAKE STEPS TO NARROW THEIR NEGOTIATING DIFFERENCES WITH SWAPO.

-- IN RELATION TO SOUTH AFRICA, I WILL NOTE TO BOTHA THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE PATTERN OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. END TEXT.

DRAFTED: AF/S:JDAVIDOW; CLEARANCES: S/P:TLAKE, IO:GHELMAN, IO:GFRANK, AF/EPS:CCUNDLIFF, UN/A:JTEFFT, P:GMOOSE, S/S-O. CHRISTOPHER

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TO AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 188688

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 188688 ACTION SECRETARY INFO USUN NY
LONDON GEORGETOWN WHITE HOUSE DATED AUG 10:

QTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 188688 TOSEC 080266

NODIS

GEORGETOWN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG, WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652:X-GDS-1

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

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LONDON, AUGUST 12

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DRAFTED: AF/S:JDAVIDOW; CLEARANCES: S/P:TLAKE, IO:GHELMAN,
IO:GFRANK, AF/EPS:CCUNDLIFF, UN/A:JTEFFT, P:GMOOSE,
S/S-O. CHRISTOPHER UNQTE
CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
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Concepts: TOSEC, TEXT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, SANCTIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
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Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
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Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
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Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1643365
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BRIFING MEMORANDUM: YOUR MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US, (BOTH, PIETER WILLEM), (OWEN, DAVID A L)
To: SECRETARY USUN NEW YORK MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f4b3305d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
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22 May 2009
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